

to protect U.S. workers. Commerce Department officials said that would defeat the purpose of fast track and they would recommend that Bush veto the legislation.

In short, yes, the President does not have the authority under the Constitution. The Congress, under article I, section 8, has the authority and the responsibility. The President, and his little minion, Robert Zoellick, the Trade Representative—he runs around and smiles and grins in all of these places, and he can amend anything. He can amend the laws. But, oh, they bring and amend the laws with respect to our national security, with respect to countervailing duties and antidumping provisions. He can amend it. But the Congress can't even consider it on an up-or-down vote.

Can you imagine the polls in such a situation as this. That Grassley amendment ought to be tabled immediately and we should not wait for 2:15. There isn't any question in my mind that this thing has gotten totally out of hand. The trade laws are not successes. The distinguished Senator from Iowa points out that everything has been coming up roses. But the fact is, we have been going out of business. Because of NAFTA we lost 53,900 textile jobs alone in the little State of South Carolina, 700,000 around the country—not just 20,000 steelworkers. So we lost all of those jobs. And we are going out of business. And the Congress of the United States tells them: Retrain, re-educate, high-tech, global competition. The President says you don't understand it.

We understand it. We retrain. I told the story—I will repeat it right quickly—of the Oneida mill in Andrews that made the little T-shirts. At the time of the closing, they had 487 workers there. The average age was 47. The next morning they did it the President's way. They retrained the employees. They are re-skilled. They are now 487 skilled computer operators.

Are you going to hire a 47-year-old computer operator or a 21-year-old computer operator? You are not taking on the retirement costs, you are not taking on the health costs of the 47-year-old. So it is a real problem.

Here we have the responsibility, and this crowd will not even let us do our job. The arrogance of this K Street crowd who writes these trade measures is unbelievable. And the President of the United States went over on the House side, and by one vote he promised—what?—he would do a fundraiser. So he has been down to Greenville to show up at a fundraiser.

It is money that talks, that controls here. You do not argue the trade measure, whether it is in the best interests of our country or not. This thing has gotten totally out of hand. And to come here and say whether this President likes it or that President likes it, well, this Senator does not like it at all.

We have many other measures, too. I noticed that Nick Calio, and his minion

at the White House, said we have to get on, we can get rid of this bill this week and we can get it to conference, and everything else like that. We have barely been able to get on this particular amendment to discuss it. And then they say, well, we will put in a little maneuver here. And we will fix that vote. And we will not even have it, even when they have changed it from a 60-vote point of order down to just a majority vote up or down. They will not even let you have a majority up-or-down vote on the security of the United States under the responsibilities of the Senate.

They say that past Presidents like it. Past Presidents don't go back down to Arkansas—they move to New York. They don't sell this trade bill as being good for farmers in Arkansas, I can tell you that. They won't run for election down there. And they won't do it in my State of South Carolina, either.

It is a hearty development to find the distinguished Senator from Idaho, and the Senator from North Dakota—they know that agricultural business extremely well. They are now joining in because they are losing all the agriculture. The 3½ million farmers that we have in America cannot outproduce 700 million farmers in China. That is why we have a deficit in the balance of trade with respect to corn.

They tell me that now China is shipping to Japan and Korea some of their wheat so they can continue to appear as if they are taking our wheat. But we are going out of business there. And we will not have the wonderful export of America's most productive production; namely, America's agriculture.

So I hope we will slow down, stop, look, and listen, and understand that all we are trying to do is our job. And our job is to regulate foreign commerce. Please let us have a vote up or down. Do not come in and say, you cannot even have an up-or-down vote on the antidumping substantive law, that you can repeal it. Because once they repeal it in Doha, or any other foreign land, we're in trouble. When the trade reps meet to discuss agreements they don't go to places like Seattle any more, where people can go to and demonstrate and tell about our trade experiences here in the United States. No, they pick a place that no one ever heard of. You can't find it on the map.

The next meeting will be down in the Antarctic. I have been down there. It is hard to get there. That is where they will have the next trade negotiation, where nobody can be heard. And they will get the fix, and then they will come back and do exactly what is happening on this bill.

There is a fix. In this particular case it is not golf games and not C-17s, it is not cultural centers like it was on NAFTA, but it is welfare. It does not employ anybody. It says: Well, we give you a little welfare to keep your mouth shut, so you can go back home and run for reelection. It is not about trade, not about jobs.

We have the job of creating jobs. They are exporting them faster than we can possibly manage it. And now they are not only exporting their manufacturing, they are exporting the executive office to Bermuda.

So here, in a time of war, when you should hear the word "sacrifice," they put the President on TV, who says: Don't worry. Take a trip. Go to Disney World. Take your family. And what we ought to do is cut some more taxes to run the debt up.

You are going to hear about that because by this time next month we will be in desperate circumstances. We have to increase the debt limit, but they will not say they will increase the debt limit. They will try to say it is the war, as to why we need to borrow money. Oh, no, it is not the war. It is the trillions of dollars they have lost. And now they want to lose another \$4 trillion.

Larry Lindsey—he doesn't like me referring to him—but he is the one who opposed what we had going with President Clinton and Secretary Summers to stop all of these offshore locations from avoiding taxes. They even had a bill, reported out of the committee over on the House side, that did that.

You would think, by gosh, we would be raising taxes to pay for the war, certainly not escaping our civic duty in a time of war. But that is the hands that we are dealt. The wonderful Business Roundtable, the Conference Board, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce—oh, they will all tell you what is good for the country. What they are saying is wrecking the economy. They don't want to pay for anything. All they want to do is just help everybody buy the different elections.

I see my time is up. I hope that at 2:15, when they move to table, Madam President, that the people will sober up and come to the floor and give us a chance on that vote to table the Grassley amendment so we can do our job. We don't say one way or the other; we just say, give us an up-or-down vote to consider the security, consider the antidumping provisions, as the Dayton-Craig amendment calls for.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 12:30 having arrived, the Senate will now stand in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:46 p.m., recessed until 2:16 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. BREAUX).

ANDEAN TRADE PREFERENCE EXPANSION ACT—Continued

AMENDMENT NO. 3408

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.